

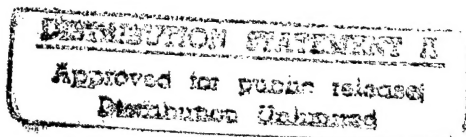
**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CURRENT  
INDOCHINESE ISSUES**

*July 1987*

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*Author: Tuyet Cosslett*

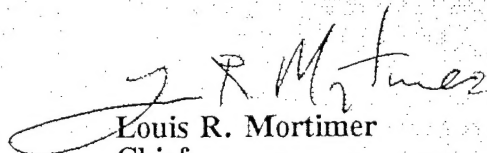


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## PREFACE

This bibliography provides selective annotations of open-source material on three current Indochina-related issues:

- \* Thailand's political strategy for solving the Cambodian question
- \* tactics and organization of Khmer/Laotian resistance groups
- \* the war in Cambodia

This bibliography incorporates serials and monographs received in the previous month and is part of a continuing series on the above subjects.

Entries are arranged alphabetically by author or title. Library of Congress call numbers, where appropriate, are included to facilitate the recovery of works cited.

## GLOSSARY

ANS	Armee Nationale Sihanoukiste (Sihanoukist National Army)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
DK	Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge)
FUNCINPEC	National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia
KCP	Khmer Communist Party
KPNLF	Khmer People's National Liberation Front (Son Sann)
KPRAF	Khmer People's Revolutionary Armed Forces
KR	Khmer Rouge (Pol Pot)
KUFNCD	Khmer United Front for National Construction and Defense (PRK)
<u>Naeo Na</u>	<u>Progressive</u> [lit: moving in new directions]
PAVN	People's Army of Vietnam
PCCS	Provisional Central Committee for Salvation (KPNLF)
PERMICO	Permanent Military Committee for Coordination (KPNLF and ANS)
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
PRPK	People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, aka KPRP (Khmer People's Revolutionary Party)
RTG	Royal Thai Government

Siam Rat

SPK

· SRV

Su Anakhot

Thai Nation

News Agency of the PRK

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Forward [lit: going toward the  
future]

1. THE WAR IN CAMBODIA

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"ASEAN to Push Khmer Solution." Bangkok Post, 7 February 1987, p. 6.

Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila reveals new diplomatic efforts to solve the Cambodian problem, announcing Laotian Deputy Foreign Minister Soubanh Srithirat's visit to Thailand in late February, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja's planned trip to Hanoi in April and his own planned visit to Moscow in May. On the military front, Foreign Minister Siddhi tells reporters that Hanoi's plan to seal the Thai-Cambodian border was a failure because it could not deter infiltration by the Khmer resistance. The minister said that he was satisfied with the Thai Army's defenses along the border and contingency plans in times of conflicts. Hanoi has maintained 21 Vietnamese battalions along the Thai border in addition to the 18 battalions of the Heng Samrin forces.

Awanohara, Susumu. "Spectre At The Feast." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong), Vol. 136, No. 26, 25 June 1987, p. 14.  
HC 411 F18

Prince Sihanouk's leave of absence as president of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has caused grave concerns among ASEAN countries. An immediate concern deals with the future status of the CGDK's U.N. membership without Sihanouk. The prince has reassured ASEAN that, although he would not attend this year's U.N. General Assembly, he will continue his efforts to achieve Vietnam's troop withdrawal and self-determination for Cambodia. Thai and Singaporean officials dismissed the notion of a "genocide trial" for Khmer Rouge leaders which is advocated by some groups in the United States. The trial would only help Hanoi's objective of eliminating the most effective fighting force in the anti-Vietnamese coalition.



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Bekaert, Jacques. "An 'Impossible' Invite." Bangkok Post, 6 February, 1987, p. 4.

In an interview with l'Unita published on January 7, 1987, Prince Sihanouk confirmed Vietnam's message to the Austrian delegation at the United Nations last October, proposing that "negotiations be conducted in Vienna between Sihanouk and his coalition partners, and Heng Samrin, head of the Phnom Penh government." Sihanouk told the Italian paper that the war in Cambodia "is a war between an invaded country and its invaders. So the negotiations must take place between two countries: Kampuchea and Vietnam." Sihanouk added that Heng Samrin "could be included, too, but in the Vietnamese delegation." Asked about China's position, Sihanouk replies that China is willing to negotiate with Hanoi only after the Vietnamese troop withdrawal. Sihanouk considers this attitude "not a very logical stance", since the key issue of negotiations is the Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia.

Bekaert, Jacques. "Defections Increase as War Persists." Bangkok Post, 27 February 1987, p. 6.

The report attempts to assess the military situation in Cambodia. The general picture indicates that the anti-Vietnamese resistance forces have made some progress in penetrating inside the country thanks to a relative collaboration between the two armies of Sihanouk (ANS) and the Khmer Rouge (NADK) as well as a better cooperation between ANS and some units of the Phnom Penh government. The PRKAF and PAVN suffer from low morale and a higher rate of defection among their soldiers. However, it is difficult to predict the future performance of the CGDK which faces a lot of internal problems, particularly within the KPNLF headed by Son Sann. On the other hand, with a new leadership in Hanoi and the election of Colonel General Le Duc Anh to the post of Minister of Defense, the PAVN is expected to increase its capabilities and activities in Cambodia. According to sources in Phnom Penh, the construction of "the wall," a long barrier along the Thai-Cambodian border, is almost finished.

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Bekaert, Jacques. "Reporter Categorizes KPNLF Weaknesses." Bangkok Post, 3 April 1987, p. 4. In JPRS SEA-87-072, 22 May 1987, p. 76.

The article describes the February 16 ceremony of reconciliation among the leaders of the KPNLF which had been paralyzed by internal divisions and conflicts of personalities for the past year. A lot of pressure was exerted on both Son Sann, the KPNLF president, and General Sak Sutsakhan, the leader of the dissident group, to work out their differences and reorganize the Front. At the ceremony, General Sak Sutsakhan, commander-in-chief of the KPNLF Armed Forces, is accompanied by ex-major general Pok Sam An, his new chief of staff, Dr. Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth, his assistant in charge of coordination and public relations, and General Dien Del as deputy commander-in-chief. As part of the military reorganization, the KPNLF general command divides Cambodia into nine "military regions" and promotes nine former camp commanders to the rank of brigadier (one star) and major general (two stars).

Bekaert, Jacques. "Red Carpet Treatment for 'Brother' Visitors." Bangkok Post, 22 May 1987, p. 4.

During the month of April, Phnom Penh has received several visits from officials of friendly countries such as the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Cuba, and Albania. The economy of Cambodia shows signs of improvement. Following the example of Vietnam, the Heng Samrin government encourages overseas Cambodians to send money to their relatives and friends remaining in the country. It even provides a list of foreign banks allowed to handle such transactions, which includes not only the Moscow Narodny Bank in London but also several capitalist financial institutions such as the Societe Generale in France and the Union des Banques Suisses in Switzerland. According to official statistics, the 1987 rice production could be higher than last year and the best record for the first quarter of 1987 is Battambang Province. In spite of a better harvest, sales to the state are very low this year because the peasants prefer to sell rice to the resistance, particularly the Khmer Rouge, which is willing to pay a higher price than Phnom Penh.

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Chanda, Nayan. "The Prince Makes Waves." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong), Vol. 136, No. 25, 18 June 1987, P. 48.  
HC 411 F18

Prince Sihanouk's threat to prolong his "leave of absence" because of the Khmer Rouge continuing killings and abuse of human rights worries the supporters of CGDK. The prince's latest move is perceived by some analysts as a political maneuver to give him flexibility and freedom to explore talks with Hanoi and Phnom Penh. One observer speculates that Sihanouk's action is designed to distance himself from China and the Khmer Rouge without making Beijing lose face. Apparently Chinese officials were surprised by Sihanouk's sudden resignation. ASEAN ministers are seriously concerned about the erosion of support for the CGDK at the United Nations and the growing interest in a "genocide trial" for Khmer Rouge leaders among some members of the U.S. Congress.

"Chavalit Orders Troops To Oust VN Intruders." Bangkok Post, 22 March 1987, p. 1.

Thai Army Commander-in-Chief General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh announces that the Armed Forces will launch an offensive to dislodge Vietnamese intruders entrenched in Ubon Ratchathani Province. The general led a group of 74 local and foreign journalists to the area to make his announcement.

Crossette, Barbara. "Cambodian-Refugee Abuse Reported." New York Times, 19 February 1987, p. A3.

The New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights has released its report documenting cases of rape, robbery, assault, extortion and murder in refugee camps which are often committed by fellow Cambodians themselves. In many instances, refugees are also attacked and abused by the people assigned to protect them. Charges of Thai military abuses were analyzed by the Committee's lawyers who conducted research and interviews in the camps. Among the conclusions drawn by the report, the Cambodian refugees under the Khmer Rouge control should be given the option

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of moving to non-communist camps. It also recommends that the UNHCR should protect all the displaced persons, not just those classified as eligible for resettlement by Thailand.

Cumming-Bruce, Nicholas. "Thai Troops Claim Successes in Bitter Struggle to Take Strategic Hilltops." Guardian (Manchester), 2 June 1987, p. 12.

After more than two months of bloody confrontation with Vietnamese troops along the Thai-Cambodian border, Thai military commanders claim they have retaken the strategic Chong Bok pass and some of the surrounding hilltops. According to some Thai analysts, this most protracted and costly campaign may seriously damage the political ambitions of the Army chief, General Chavalit Yongchaiyuth.

Cumming-Bruce, Nicholas. "Sihanouk Returns to Centre of Kampuchea Struggle." Guardian (Manchester), 17 June 1987, p. 6.

Prince Sihanouk, by taking a year's leave of absence from the presidency of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea to protest the Khmer Rouge attacks against his people, calls attention to his leadership and critical role in the Cambodian problem. ASEAN Foreign Ministers meeting in Singapore express the belief that Sihanouk's move may create new diplomatic opportunities, particularly in view of Hanoi's leadership changes and new economic priorities.

Donnet, Pierre-Antoine. "Sihanouk 'Willing' to Hold Talks With SRV, USSR." Agence France Press, 2 February 1987. In JPRS-SEA-87-027, 25 February 1987, pp. 101-102.

Prince Sihanouk states that he is willing to hold unconditional talks on Cambodia with Vietnam and the Soviet Union, but that the key to a political settlement

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of the Cambodian conflict lies with China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge. The prince states that he must take a positive attitude, but that he could not accept a proposal, reportedly made by Vietnam, for a meeting of the three resistance groups, including the Khmer Rouge, and Cambodia's pro-Vietnamese rulers. The Khmer Rouge and China also rejected the proposal while Vietnam denied having made such a gambit in the first place.

Etcheson, Craig. "Civil War and The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea." Third World Quarterly (London), Vol. 9, No. 1, January 1987, pp. 187-202. HC 59 7 T458

The article examines the origins of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (formed in 1982) and the three factions which make up the coalition: FUNCINPEC (National United Front for an Independent Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia) presided over by Prince Sihanouk, KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front) headed by Son Sann, and the Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot.

Gray, Denis D. "Kampuchea 'A Bit of Peace, A Bit of War'." Bangkok Post, 29 May 1987, p. 2.

In an interview PRK Prime Minister Hun Sen declares that the war in Cambodia is "in a kind of stalemate" and must be settled "by political means." He reaffirms the Vietnamese troop withdrawal by 1990 and deplores his opponents' inability to neutralize the Khmer Rouge forces. He dismisses Prince Sihanouk's resignation as "not new and not realistic." Hun Sen says he would like to improve ties with the United States and is pleased with the American aid agencies working in Phnom Penh. He also praises the role of private enterprise in the economy. He admits that his government is holding a "small number" of political prisoners.

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"Hanoi Has Stifled Kampuchea's Development." Bangkok Post, 24 April 1987, p. 2.

At the 43rd ESCAP Conference, Khieu Samphan, Vice President for Foreign Affairs of the CGDK, blames Vietnam for the destruction of Cambodia and adds that his country's economic and social development has been hindered by Vietnamese aggression. He expresses gratitude for Thailand's support for the CGDK and its generosity towards the refugees. He appeals for aid from the United Nations and international organizations for the "post-war national reconstruction of Kampuchea." At a press conference later, Khieu Samphan mentions that Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian has informed him of the Soviet Union's intransigent attitude and continued support for Hanoi's occupation of Cambodia as reiterated in a recent Sino-Soviet discussion. According to Khieu Samphan, Pol Pot is in good health, dispelling rumors of the Khmer Rouge leader's illness.

"Hanoi Spurns Sihanouk Offer." Bangkok Post, 7 February 1987, p. 6.

Hanoi has rejected Prince Sihanouk's offer to hold unconditional talks with Vietnam and the Soviet Union and advised him to discuss the Cambodian problem directly with the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh.

Hiebert, Murray. "Market Forces Flourish." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong), Vol. 136, No. 19, 7 May, 1987, p. 38.  
HC 411 F18

The private sector has been the key factor in Cambodia's economic recovery. Particularly since 1986, when the constitution was changed to legalize the private sector, small businesses, private markets, and barter trades have flourished and helped rebuild the economy of the country. According to official statements, agriculture performed very well last year producing 2.2 million tons of rice, the best crop since 1979. Cambodia's industry, however,

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has remained weak due to shortage of spare parts, chemicals, and skilled labor.

Hiebert, Murray. "Cambodia: The Shadow of War." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong), Vol. 136, No. 19, 7 May 1987, pp. 36-37. HC 411 F18

The article analyzes what Prime Minister Hun Sen calls a situation of "peace as well as war at the same time" in Cambodia. Although Phnom Penh has resumed its normal and noisy life, there were also signs of military activities. According to Mr. Hun Sen, the security problem has improved, the number of Vietnamese advisers has decreased and "by 1990 all Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn." In spite of this confidence, the scars of war are still visible and Cambodian people express their anxiety about the future and Vietnam's intentions. The presence of a large number of Vietnamese migrants in Cambodia is a constant source of hostility and friction between the two ethnic groups.

Jones, Clayton. "SE Asia Skeptical of Soviet Envoy's 'Charm Offensive'." Christian Science Monitor (Boston), 5 March 1987, pp. 9, 14.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's tour of Southeast Asia in early March is termed a "charm offensive" by some Western diplomats. An unexpected motive behind the trip, however, is the Soviets' apparent intention to use India as a broker in the Cambodian standoff between China and Vietnam. The possibility of India as an interlocutor introduces a new political dynamic to the situation. India is one of the few noncommunist nations to back the Vietnamese-supported government in Phnom Penh while China remains an ardent supporter of the Cambodian resistance. Ever since the July 1986 Gorbachev foreign policy speech, ASEAN and Vietnam have been testing each other in various diplomatic ways. One unusual feeler put out by Hanoi--although later denied--was a report in January by Prince Sihanouk that Vietnam was ready to hold talks in Romania to form a new

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coalition between factions of the resistance and the Heng Samrin government. Some Western diplomats say some of the new reform-minded leaders in Hanoi might be more inclined than past Vietnamese leaders to ease out of Cambodia. Others believe that "architect" of the Cambodia occupation Le Duc Anh's promotion to defense minister may mean the reverse. The article concludes that the Shevardnadze tour will likely do little to change the stance of China. At best, it may open new trade and push along the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia.

Kelly, Neil. "Thais Launch Offensive to Dislodge Vietnamese." Times (London), 30 March 1987, p. 9.

A new drive is reported to be underway by the Thai Army against Vietnamese soldiers entrenched in a border region of northeast Thailand. Thai Army Commander-in-chief General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh states the Vietnamese have occupied hills in Ubon Ratchthani province for more than three months.

"KPNLF Troops Admit Strength Down to 8,000." Bangkok World, 13 June 1987, p. 3. In FBIS (East Asia), 17 June 1987, p. I2.

The newspaper quotes a communique issued by the KPNLF's field headquarters on May 5, 1987, admitting for the first time that its forces have "8,004 armed combatants." It includes 15 medics of the forward field hospital, operating in "12 Kampuchean provinces." At the eighth anniversary of its foundation, on March 5th, the KPNLF claimed that the movement had "more than 20,000 soldiers."

"Looking for a New Approach." Asiaweek (Hongkong), Vol. 13, No. 11, March 15, 1987, pp. 12-13. DSI A715

The simultaneous Southeast Asian tours of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh have raised speculation



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of a new Indo-Soviet initiative on Cambodia. The Soviet minister has suggested that the Soviet Union might offer a guarantee for peace in Cambodia after the Vietnamese withdrawal. India's new interest and role in the region, as explained by Foreign Minister Singh, is motivated by Hanoi's change of attitude and new flexibility. According to Asiaweek sources, India's recent activity in the area is aimed at neutralizing China's increasing influence among ASEAN countries. ASEAN reactions to the Indian involvement are not very positive. India, unlike ASEAN, recognizes the Heng Samrin government. There is also an unspoken rivalry between India and Indonesia, the two biggest Asian countries, in the Non-Aligned Movement and other forums.

Morello, Ted. "Future of UN Aid for Those Fleeing Cambodia Is Murky." Christian Science Monitor (Boston), 9 January 1987, pp. 10-11.

The lengthy article focuses on the UN Border Relief Operation (UNBRO) which has assisted Cambodian refugees in Thai camps since 1979, and the recent controversy caused by the UN Secretary-General's surprise replacement of the full-time Cambodia aid coordinator by a part-time official. Donor and regional governments, including the United States, Canada, and ASEAN countries, criticized Mr. Perez de Cuellar for downgrading the UN refugee relief program and for acting without consulting the governments concerned.

Mydans, Seth. "Thais and Vietnamese in Bitter Battle." New York Times, 30 May 1987, p. 4.

Since January Thai troops have engaged in a protracted and difficult struggle to dislodge the Vietnamese who occupied the Chong Bok area located inside Thailand. The fighting is taking place in the Nam Yuen district of Ubon Ratchathani Province in eastern Thailand. According to Western diplomats, casualties are very high.

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"Phnom Penh Claims Defectors Pardoned." Bangkok Post, 3 January, 1987, p. 1.

According to its news agency, the pro-Hanoi Cambodian government has granted amnesty to over 4,000 defectors, half of them from the Khmer Rouge. It also claims that 33,352 defectors have joined the Phnom Penh regime since 1979. The claim cannot be confirmed independently.

"Phnom Penh's Latest Offer Nothing New". Bangkok Post, 12 April 1987, p. 3.

Prime Minister Hun Sen of the pro-Hanoi People's Republic of Kampuchea has proposed a meeting between himself and Prince Sihanouk. According to diplomatic sources, Phnom Penh's latest offer is "nothing really new." Both Hanoi and Phnom Penh have tried to establish direct contact with Sihanouk in the past. What is worth noting is that the message, this time, came directly from Hun Sen and not from Hanoi. One source comments that "leaders of the PRK are probably no less patriotic and no less nationalistic than the Khmers involved in the resistance, and they may genuinely believe that they have more in common with Sihanouk than with Hanoi." A military source observes that Hun Sen's offer coincided with a series of hard-hitting mopping up operations conducted by Vietnamese troops against Sihanouk's forces and the Khmer Rouge.

"Practicing to be Prime Minister." Economist (London), 4 April 1987, p. 32. HG 11 E2

Report suggests that General Chaovalit Yongchaiyudh, commander-in-chief of the Thai Army is attempting to bolster his image as a fighting man by taking on the Vietnamese. At the end of March his troops attacked Vietnamese forces occupying hills inside Thailand. Although the results were inconclusive the reporter suggests that for Chaovalit, who has political ambitions and is expected to be Thailand's next prime minister, the

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value of the maneuver lay in the press coverage it received.

Rosett, Claudia. "Displaced Cambodians Strain Thailand's Camps." The Asian Wall Street Journal (Hongkong), 23 February 1987, p. 6.

The article describes the worsening situation of refugees in the camps of Thailand and the strong measures recently taken by the Thai authorities to deal with the refugee problems. Thailand is extremely fearful that the refugee camps will become permanent, particularly in view of the high birth rate among refugees which is estimated at about 5 percent per year, more than twice the Thai rate.

"Sihanouk Admits Error in U.S. Ties." Bangkok Post, 1 April 1987, p. 6.

In an interview, Prince Sihanouk while blaming Washington for "all the misery of Kampuchea," admits he made a mistake in severing relations with the United States, which caused his overthrow in 1970. According to Sihanouk, military officers, rich merchants and industrialists who were used to receiving U.S. economic aid "got very angry and supported Lon Nol."

"Sihanouk Threatens Coalition." Guardian (Manchester), 2 June 1987, p. 12.

Prince Sihanouk in a cable from Pyongyang denounced the policies and attacks of the Khmer Rouge against his own forces. He warned that "Pol Pot policies" would jeopardize Cambodia's security and liberty if Vietnam withdrew its troops. Sihanouk threatened to prolong his leave of absence indefinitely and consequently put the future of the resistance coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea in further doubt and uncertainty.

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Tasaneeyavej, Banyat. "Kampuchea Conundrum." Bangkok Post, 7 March 1987, p. 4.

The visits to Bangkok of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Indian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Natwar Singh raise more questions than answers about the Cambodian problem. The article examines the position and influence of Thailand and argues that it is not in Bangkok's national interest to participate in formal talks on Cambodia, since successful negotiations involve compromise. Whereas Hanoi can make a concession in withdrawing its troops from Cambodia, the question concerns Thailand's own compromise. "What are we to give away?" the author asks. He goes on to comment that, although the war remains an "irritant" for Thailand, overall the country "continues to prosper." Therefore, the article concludes that "Time is now on our side."

"The Cambodian Catch." Asian Wall Street Journal (Hong Kong), 4 March 1987, p. 6.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze reportedly tells Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Sawetsila that a Soviet pullout from Afghanistan could become the model for a withdrawal from Cambodia. The article suggests that there are many similarities between Afghanistan and Cambodia, among which is the desire of the occupying force to establish a local government capable of carrying out its policies once it departs. To this end, both the Soviets and the Vietnamese have carried out programs to destroy the old orders of society in the occupied countries in order to expedite their control. The implied suggestion of Shevardnadze's remarks to Siddhi is that Vietnam should hurry and consolidate its control over Cambodia.

"The Nation on Khmer Rouge Appeal to Sihanouk." Nation (Bangkok), 1 June 1987, p. 5. In FBIS (East Asia), 4 June 1987, p. 11.

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According to an informed source, CGDK Vice-President for Foreign Affairs Khieu Samphan and the Khmer Rouge insurgent commander Son Sen sent a letter to Prince Sihanouk asking him to reconsider his resignation announced in May. Khieu Samphan is reported to have expressed concerns about the support for the anti-Vietnamese CGDK's seat at the United Nations without the presence of Prince Sihanouk this year. Khieu Samphan, according to the source, met with Thai and Chinese officials in Bangkok and told them that the Khmer Rouge are willing to pay full compensation to Sihanouk's killed soldiers. However, Khieu Samphan said he did not believe that the real reason for Prince Sihanouk's resignation was the Khmer Rouge attacks on Sihanouk's troops.

Tunsarawuth, Sinfah. "Civilians, Troops Not Clearly Separated in DK Camps." Nation (Bangkok), 7 April 1987, p. 5. In JPRS (Southeast Asia Report), 22 May 1987, pp. 78-79.

The four remote refugee camps under the Khmer Rouge control (Huay Chan, Natreo, Bo Rai and Ban Ta Laun) are the targets of inspection by senior international relief officials. The donor governments complain about the lack of "free access" to those camps to monitor the distribution of aid supplies and strongly suspect that some food and medical supplies for civilian refugees are diverted to Khmer Rouge soldiers.

Vongchant, Serm. "The Impact of the Kampuchean Crisis On ASEAN's Unity: The Role of Thailand's Security Interest (1978-1985)." Doctoral Dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1986. 220pp.

The thesis examines ASEAN's unity as a result of the Cambodian crisis during the period 1978-85. The impact of the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia on the ASEAN states is conceptualized in terms of creating divisive perceptions among ASEAN members concerning the implications of the Cambodian issue. One of the most important sources of disunity is the differing security priorities between Thailand and other ASEAN countries.